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ABSTRACT

This paper argues that community college models, especially in developing countries, can be victims of the vocational school fallacy, which holds that that two-year vocational/technical schools that ignore a general education foundation may not be an optimal means for solving worker needs. In addition, globalization has hastened a mirroring of the American community college model across the globe, and its implementation does not always evoke social reform. The paper describes five homogenizing characteristics of community college models: (1) all are postsecondary and post-compulsory, and although they are included in national educational plans, they have a curriculum, budget, and a mission that expresses localized connections; (2) each model has a specific purpose that advocates a singular element (technical or occupational); (3) the models are not highly regarded by governments, university scholars, or the populace; (4) all models vary according to local needs; and (5) the models embody an ideal that low tuition accentuates open access, which in turn perpetuates alternative routes for postsecondary education that can build and maintain democratic overtures in relation to societal change. The author concludes by stating that, despite its problems, a higher education structure that acknowledges and endorses diversity, such as the community college model, will continue to be in demand. Appended are two tables noting program variations among 52 different countries. (Contains 22 endnotes.) (NB)

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COMMUNITY COLLEGE MODEL CHARACTERISTICS

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Currently, 180 countries sponsor more than 4,000 institutions that favor higher education for the masses. Kintzer (1994) consolidates these institutions under the rubric of *nonuniversities*[1]. A comparative analysis of *nonuniversities* is difficult because type, duration, content and even name differs regionally. In establishing a framework for analysis, a term is required that is concise, yet all-encompassing and is non-degrading, non-elitist and non-ethnocentric. The 1980s description, "short-term short-cycle college and university" is not concise and reference to "short" maintains elitist overtones that imply an inferior type of education.[2] Even the 1990s term "*nonuniversities*," while concise, conveys a negative connotation with "non" defining absence rather than choice. Use of the term *community college*, is also problematic in that not all *nonuniversities* are community colleges, and use of this term runs the risk of United States ethnocentrism. However, despite the wide variety of these institutions, community colleges are gaining prominence as a unique form of post-secondary education, and, in particular, the incorporation of United States community college characteristics, "with the appropriate balance between liberal and vocational education" is noticeable.[3] For this reason, the term, *community college model* may be the less deleterious of available terms and hence will be utilized.

Community College Model Foundation

The 19th century community college model, German Volkhochschulen, inspired formalized post-secondary, pre-university institutions throughout Europe, Canada, and the United States. However, it was not until the California Master Plan created a state tripartite system in 1960 that a prototype emerged in which the community college became an integral part of post-secondary educational structures. As variations of this prototype multiplied, a need for a definition inspired a 1971 OECD conference, which was attended by delegates from Britain, France, Norway, United States and Yugoslavia. The final description closely resembled that of the U.S. community college model (OECD 1971). In the next two decades, numerous imitations of this definition were cultivated. 1980s variations arose in Egypt, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Mexico, while 1990s examples exist in Armenia, Colombia, Hungary, India, Israel, Kazakhstan, Russia, South Africa, Tatarastan and Thailand.

A growing global demand to confront socio-economic issues of labor and technology training, accessibility for the mass populace, and the opening up of university-dominated systems has contributed to the popularity of the community college model. It is alleged that such education ensures opportunities that lead to employment, economic development, prosperity, and can contribute toward improved social conditions[4]. While, the value of such an education, perceived and real, is at the core of much debate, the impact of the community college model in world higher educational reform movements cannot be underestimated.[5]

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Community College Models

Community college models move toward convergence as five homogenizing characteristics are evident. Tables 1.1 and 1.2 delineate the variations discussed in endnote one, to which community college models conform. First, all models are post-secondary and post-compulsory, and although they are included in national educational plans, they have a curriculum, budget, and a mission that expresses localized connections. While many models provide accredited pre-university curricula and thus are accountable to local universities, they also must relate programs to serve economic and socio-political needs of the business community. Ural (1998) notes distinct organizational patterns exist that are managed nationally in Germany, regionally in Israel, by states in the U.S., by individual districts in Norway, by secondary school systems in Austria, Denmark, Indonesia and Sweden, by polytechnic and technical colleges in Colombia and New Zealand and by their own system in Canada. Cohen (1995) postulates that in nations where compulsory education ends early, community college models are four-five years in duration and serve upper secondary, undergraduate collegiate and para-professional functions. In countries where students attend school for 10+ years, community college models accentuate pre-baccalaureate, occupational and recurrent education studies often less than two years in duration.

On the applied level, "the most crucial function of community colleges then has been to provide students with training and retraining programmes which help them to achieve social mobility and contribute to the economic well-being of a country[6]." Actualization of socioeconomic reform, however, depends upon the type of education exported (technical/vocational, personal development, professional, or academic), the type of student targeted, the relationship of the type of education to the college's mission, and what students actually do with this education, (i.e., transfer to a university, work or drop out). The vocational school fallacy[7] insinuates that two-year technical/vocational colleges which ignore a general education foundation may not be an optimal means for solving manpower needs. These colleges are often cost-ineffective, have courses that are short-sighted, out-of-date and oftentimes irrelevant. Since many community college models, especially in developing countries, are victims to this fallacy, they are placed at risk. Furthermore, in many countries, due to both internal links, such as with poor national planning, and external links such as with transnational corporations, appropriate jobs may be lacking upon graduation. As a result, implementation of a community college model does not always evoke social reform as suggested by Cohen (1995). Similarly, an international development fallacy exists in that exported community college ideals may not lead to career/academic opportunities and such training often does not provide the foundation for economic/political reform[8].

Secondly, each model has a specific purpose that advocates a singular element (technical or occupational), or combines pre-university academic, technical, vocational, occupational training/retraining, socio-cultural and adult education. All models provide certificates and/or diplomas that provide entry to continuing education (lifelong learning) and/or employment. The unifying commonality is that all emphasize short-term career/ personal advancement education. However, insufficient communication with business and industry often weakens programmatic relevancy and future job placement, making true advancement questionable. Furthermore, incorporation of both university and business

agendas can conflict with attempts at local autonomy which undermines non-traditional programs and curricula. As a result, despite many efforts at career/personal advancement, difficulties exist in implementation.

On the academic level, it is difficult to define standards that are acceptable both locally and globally, and as a result, the global is frequently highlighted over the local. Various factors influencing educational decisions are removed from the local. Difficulty exists in community college models maintaining academic autonomy in a system which incorporates local university, local and global business, and an international college's agendas. Exportation of specialized curricula may be irrelevant if graduates succumb to chronic unemployment or may conflict with the reality of the local environment. In addition, privatization emphasis can result in community colleges cooperating with and at times, becoming subordinate to, the interests of international enterprises. Finally, although Eskow (1989 p. 4) claims that "instruction originating in those countries can move to the United States and to our students who want to learn about other countries and cultures," such patterns have yet to become realized. Instead, a neo-colonial American-centric curriculum has circumvented the world.

Globalization hastened various degrees of mirroring the U.S. model, because local education may "not have the same market value, social prestige or general reception in the society as other degrees or diplomas. This may be the reason why models are made along the lines of the U.S. model[9]". At one extreme, programs, curriculum, and philosophical discourses are transplanted from the U.S. to another country, such as Yong-In Technical College in Yogin City, Korea and the First Global Community College Nong Khai - Udon Thani in Thailand, where short-term courses in business, tourism and technical subjects are offered to largely rural poor populations. For others, a concerted adoption of specific characteristics highlights a. U.S. style institution, while still asserting local individualism, such as South Africa Community Colleges, Regional Colleges in Israel, and the Community College in Yemen. For others, a purposeful seeking of help reinforces imitations, such as the pairing of Madras Community College with Sinclair Community College in Ohio to create and support workforce skills courses, or the recent Middlesex Community College, Massachusetts project in Cambodia which teaches conflict resolution training[10]. In the next decade, community college models will not only react to globalization tendencies, but will reinforce them in the form of new, standalone institutions.

The third characteristic is a world phenomenon that community college models are not highly regarded by governments, university scholars, or the populace. Often colleges are located in rural or in urban lower-class areas and frequently are poorly supported in both finance and social status. Government support can foster growth, i.e., Argentinian "terciarios," or facilitate demise due to lack of support, i.e., consolidation of Chilean technical institutes within the university hierarchy[11]. Due to uncertain status, tuition is consistently lower than the university, yet is out of reach for the majority of poor. Complicating this situation a newly found immense popularity which is increasing enrollments faster than support services, which, in turn, multiplies overall costs. This results in a situation what "wherever short-cycle colleges are found, financing is the primary dilemma[12]".

The fourth characteristic is that institutional variations echo local needs. Japanese junior colleges that were developed during the occupation period by U.S. community

college educators, currently bear little resemblance to the U.S. model, as they are now 84% privately controlled and service primarily women. The Hawke's Bay Community College in New Zealand, initially aimed to provide life-long education, now caters to its major ethnic minority, the Maori community[13]. These and other variations highlight promotion of local identities that provides a) a need to link beyond the local; b) appreciation of diversity that connections provide; c) interdependent relationships that result from such connections. In many cases, local institutions are taking control of their own destinies, such as Madras Community College's work with Sinclair (SCC) (Ohio) and Eastern Iowa Community Colleges to translate small business curriculum into Tamil and to develop a text for semi-literate and illiterate students. SCC also works with Stella Maris College (Chennai, India) to develop a Tamil functional literacy curriculum for primary school teachers, targeted at women in rural villages surrounding Chennai. Another example is the International Consortium for Economic and Educational Development (ICEED) which links community colleges in Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Texas to those in Mexico to ease post-secondary educational problems. These programs exemplify responsiveness to local needs and adaptations of the community college model.

The final characteristic is that community college models embody an ideal that low tuition accentuates open access, which in turn perpetuates alternative routes for post-secondary education that can build and maintain democratic overtures in relation to societal change. The U. S. model is specifically emulated by developing countries because lower socio-economic class and subordinate minority ethnic groups students do attend U.S. community colleges in such large numbers. Many assert that since this ideal is realized in the U.S., it can also be realized in their own country[14]. However, while community college models do provide a viable access to higher education, the ideal that equitable access leads to opportunities and that these opportunities provide a foundation for economic/political reform, is dubious at best.

Economic globalization has raised living costs and altered accessibility for models in Japan, Britain, former Eastern Europe, Latin America, New Zealand and Russia, while increased student tuition in the U. S. has actually eliminated "open access" for thousands of students[15]. Substantial difficulties exist in executing these models in economically strained periods. Lack of substantial and secure backing, logistical costs, hidden costs, and local and global economic conditions can undermine efforts. Financial competition can result in a "for-profit philosophy" that affects academic mission, curriculum, professional relationships, and funding[16]. Furthermore, financial, ethical and philosophical dilemmas of tuition-based instruction undermine open access and reveal a plethora of questions regarding the mission of the community college model. A dichotomy exists to maintain low cost and open access in fiscally difficult times which can undermine the core open-access philosophy and place these much desired programs at risk. The Czech Republic developed community college models, because existing "education programs are presently restricted to a small percentage of the population able to meet university entrance requirements[17]". Perhaps the most ominous trend, however, is that even with low tuition, for some community college models, like Darwin Community College in Australis, which serves Aborigines and migrant residents, 81% of whom have only reached the 9th grade, the Malaysian community college or the Egypt Mahad, the cost is still out of reach for the poorest population, the people it was initially intended to serve. Thus, although the models

do increase access to post-secondary education, they merely perpetuate an already unequal higher educational system[18].

Philosophically, many community college models pride themselves as a significant form of "community education in the context of redressing inequalities[19]". There is evidence that community college models can be effective in reducing cultural conflict in multicultural societies as well as in increasing access to higher education as exemplified in Australia, Bulgaria, China, India, Japan, Malaysia and the U.S.[20]. For the past two decades globalization tendencies portended the U. S. model as having the "resources and expertise, especially in applied technology, that could serve well . . . in sustainable development[21]". The ubiquitous ideal that community college models can utilize post-secondary education to counter socioeconomic inequities, while not proven in academia, nonetheless, has been sufficient enough to encourage educators abroad to enter into agreements that facilitate transplanting community college models to their own countries[22].

Despite problems, the U.S. community college model continues to grow in popularity, and students who attend these institutions, do so, in ever increasing numbers, especially in developing countries. Future development and support of these institutions persists because they are: a) less expensive and more accessible than universities; b) adaptable to providing product-oriented, as well as transferable curricula; c) flexible in providing short-term programs that address varying interests of the community; and d) able to meet the demands of emerging local population and regional needs. Above all, community college models are designed to serve both the people and their communities by training, retraining and allowing them to achieve social mobility.

Conclusion

Proliferation of the community college model has impacted educational systems, as it continues to attract those who respond to demands to break out of traditional university patterns and to promote non-traditional educational access. Despite the popularity of the community college model, implications for developing countries interested in creating, revising or endorsing characteristics of this model are clear. It is critical to highlight both community college ideals and as well as to understand their realities. Reverberations from globalization can force countries to abandon a basic, and most emulated tenet of the community college, that of open access. Suggestions that community college models can no longer sustain the educational ideals envisioned and expected by diverse sections of the society are of significant consequence worldwide. The variations of the community college model may be a reaction to this process as each country is attempting to conform an ideal into it's own workable model.

Nonetheless, the impact of heightened community college model growth will not diminish in the next century. Indeed, it is more likely that community college models will become further ingrained in post-secondary educational structures. In that our world is increasingly multiethnic, multicultural, and multilingual, a higher educational structure, such as the community college model, that acknowledges, endorses and respects that diversity, becomes most desired.

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TABLE 1.1 COMMUNITY COLLEGE MODELS: Program Variations

COUNTRY	Specialized Technical/ Vocational Programs	Public Support	Multi-Purpose Short Cycle Programs	Binary Short Cycle Programs: Bridge College Secondary and University
Argentina	X	X	X	X
Australia		X	X	
Austria			X	
Bahamas	X	X	X	
Belarus		X	X	
Belize		X	X	X
Britain			X	X
Bulgaria		X		
Canada		X	X	
China	X			
Colombia	X		X	X
Czech Republic	X	X	X	
Denmark	X	X		X
Egypt	X	X		X
El Salvador	X			X
France	X	X		X
Germany	X	X		
Greece	X	X		
Guyana	X	X		
Hungary	X			X
Iceland	X	X	X	
India	X			
Indonesia	X	X		X
Inner Mongolia	X			
Iran	X			
Ireland	X	X		
Israel	X	X		X
Kazakhstan	X			
Kenya	X			
Korea	X			
Libya	X	X	X	
Malaysia	X	X		
Mexico	X	X	X	X
Mauritius	X	X		
New Zealand			X	X
Norway		X	X	X
Pakistan	X	X		
Russia	X	X (also private)		X
Slovak Federal Republic	X		X	X
Slovenia	X		X	X
Spain	X		X	
Sri Lanka	X			
Surinam Republic	X			X
Sweden	X	X		X
Taiwan	X	X		X
Tatarastan	X			X
Thailand	X	X (also		X

		private)			
Ukraine	X	X (also private)		X	
United State	X	X	X	potential	
Yemen, Republic			X	X	

COUNTRY	Technical University/ Poly-Technical Branches	Life-Long Learning: Literacy/ Cultural Attainment	Expanded-Post-Secondary and Adult Education	Limited University Transfer
Argentina		X		
Bahamas	X			
Belize	X	X		
Britain			X	
Bulgaria			X	
Canada	X	X		regionally
Colombia		X		
Denmark		X	X	
Egypt				X
El Salvador		X		
France			X	
Germany	X	X		
Guyana	X			
Iceland	X			
Indonesia		X	X	
Iran		X		
Japan	X	X		X
Libya	X		X	X
Malaysia			X	
Mexico			X	
Mauritius	X			
Norway	X		X	
Pakistan	X		X	X
Sweden	X		X	X
Tatarastan	X			
Ukraine	X			
United States	X		X	
Yemen, Republic	X			

Table 1.2: COMMUNITY COLLEGE MODELS: Model Variations

COUNTRY	MODEL TYPE	DESCRIPTIONS
Argentina	7	1,500 Terciarios
Australia	2	College of Advanced Education of Victoria CAE; Technical & Further Education Colleges TAFEs (120 in New South Wales) CAE's have recently been granted university status
Austria	6	Fachhochschulen
Bahamas	2;7	
Belarus	2	
Belize	2;4;7	Community College of Belize; Muffles Junior College in Belize
Britain	1;5	682 Colleges of Further Education (CFE) - part of 1992 reform move to create free post-compulsory education
Bulgaria	2;9	40 community colleges
Canada	2;4;8	Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology College. Quebec - 560 d'Enseignment General et Professionnel CEGEP, offer first-year university course and technical-oriented courses; Alberta, influenced by U.S. model; Ontario, little emphasis on general education; British Colúmbia, some confer degrees with university status.
Chile	6;7;8	Colegios universitarios regionales
China	8	Vocational University; Worker's College
Colombia	7;8	Association of Colombian Universities
Czech Republic	2	Dutch Model. Czech Technical University In Prague
Denmark	3;8	
Ecuador	5; 8	Technical Institutes in Guayaquil
Egypt	2	Ma'had
El Salvador	7;8	Technical Institutes of Don Bosco University
France	8	Instituts Universersitaires Technologiques (IUTs)
Germany	3;5;8 20	Fachhochschulen (technical education); 900 Volkhochschulen (lifelong education)
Greece	8	Technological Education Institutions
Guyana	2	
Hungary	2;8;9	Technical University of Budapest
Iceland	5;8	
Indonesia	8	
India	2;4;6	United States Education Foundation of India; Madras Community College; Stella Maris College
Inner Mongolia	8	
Iran	6;8	Regional Technical Colleges
Ireland	6;8	Regional Technical Colleges
Israel	2;6	
Japan	2;4; 8	561 Junior Colleges and 62 Technical Colleges. Nagasaki Community College - women are majority - major in humanities, home economics, and education.;3,152 Special Training Schools (i.e. Osaka College of Medical and High Technology; Tokyo Wild Life College) - men are majority - major in foreign languages, business, technology, or paramedical. 3,000 Misc. post-secondary private schools
Kazakhstan	5;8;9 13	Tecknicum and 21 Training Institutes
Kenya	8	15 Harambee

Korea	8	130 Technical Colleges and 1 Community College
Libya	6;8	
Malaysia	2;4;8	Institut Tecknologi; Kolej Damansara Utama (KDU); Maktab Sains MARA community college in Kuantan
Mauritius	6;8	
Mexico	5;7;8	Colegio Nacional de Educacion Profesional Tecnica (CONALEP) (254); Central de Estudios Tecnologicos Leon, Guanajuato; Mexican Centros de Ensenanza y Superior (CETYS); Universidad Iberoamericana; Mexico City Instituto Tecnologio y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey (ITESM); Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico (UNAM); CECATI colleges in Guanajuato; Universidad Iberoamericana;
New Zealand	2;5;8	20 Technical Colleges
Norway	3;6	
Pakistan	2;6;8	
Russia	2;5;8;9	Neva College
Singapore	5; 8	ISS International School
Slovak Republic	2;5;9	Community College based on Fachhochschulen and British Polytechnical models
Slovenia	2;9	
Spain	6;8	Columbo International College (Seville & Marabella); American Community College of Asturias
South Africa	2;8	
Sri Lanka	4	
Surinam Republic	2	
Sweden	3;8	
Taiwan	4;8	National Taiwan Institute of Technology
Tatarastan	2	Community College of Kazan (associated with Kazan Pedagogical Institute)
Thailand	2;8	Phuket Community College of Prince of Songkla University; First Global Community College; Thailand Community College Assication
Ukraine	6;8;9 15	Regional Junior Specialist Institutions
United States	2;4;8	1,300 community colleges
Yemen, Republic	2	Community Colleges in Sana and Aden

LEGEND

1) Colleges of Further Education	2) Community College
3) Folkhighschool	4) Junior College
5) Poly-Technic	6) Regional College
7) Regional Technical Institutes of Latin America	8) Technical College/Institute
9) Vishe Skhole	

Tables 1.1 and 1.2 compiled from: Cohen, 1995, pp. 13-18; Kintzer, 1994, pp. 6-16 and Raby & Tarrow, 1996, pp. 197-203.

Table I delineates four community college model configurations as they are implemented worldwide. The "multipurpose" orientation combines academic, occupational training, remedial, continuing education and other forms of educational instruction. The "specialized" orientation offers two-three years of technical, vocational, or occupational programs. A "binary" orientation

bridges post-secondary, college and university education. In some instances, technical/occupational programs are combined with an upper-secondary school (often not producing baccalaureate degrees), while other colleges provide baccalaureates and other advanced degrees (both academic and occupational) either as part of the university or as a distinct entity. The final configuration emphasizes lifelong learning for literacy attainment or for culture/social studies.

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1. See Raby 1996 for a discussion of these terms that include: college of further education, community college, folkhighschool, junior college, open universities, regional college, short-cycle program, technical institute, tecknicums, vishe skhole, and village polytechnics. . The term "community college model" is utilized throughout this article.

2. The term "short-cycle higher education" emerged from an OECD-sponsored conference in Grenoble, France in 1971. At this conference, specific community college models from France, Norway, United Kingdom, United States and Yugoslavia were compared.

3. Koltai: 6.

4. Strydom and Lategan 1998; Kintzer 1998, 1994, 1979; Koltai 1993.

5. Raby and Tarrow (1996).

6. Cohen 1995 p 65-75; Ratcliff & Gibson-Berninger 1998; Ural 1998 p. 119

7. Selvarathuam 1998

8. Raby 2000

9. Kintzer 1979 p. 75; echoed in Eskow 1999; Kintzer 1998; Strydom and Lategan 1998

10. CCID, 1999a

11. Kintzer 1998

12. Ishumi 1988 p. 163-174

13. Kintzer,1979

14. Stydom, Bitzer, and Lategan 1995; Mellander and Mellander 1994

15. Raby 1996

16. Yamano and Hawkins 1996

17. CCID 1999b p. 1

18. El Mallah 1996; Kintzer 1979

19. Ural 1998 p. 199

20. Van der Linde 1996; Mellander and Mellander 1994

21. Elsner, Tsunoda, and Korbel, 1995, p. 1

22. Strydom and Lategan 1998, Elsner, Tsunoda, and Korbel 1995; Koltai 1993.